THE BREAKDOWN OF THE STATE. By PETER KROPOTKIN. ONE PENNY.

Workers' Dreadnought

FOR THE PEACEFUL FRATERNITY OF PEOPLES.

VOL. X. No. 22. SATURDAY, AUGUST 18, 1923. WEEKLY.

GERMANY AT THE CROSS ROADS.

The financial and economic crisis in Germany has led at last to those serious hunger riots which give rise to the question: Is the proletarian revolution now really coming?

At the same time the Monarchist reactionaries of Fascist type are so active that a monarchist counter-revolution seems decidedly threatening.

The German Social Democrats in this, as in each successive crisis that has arisen, look only to coalition with the Capitalists—a policy which means attempting to maintain the capitalist system that has so utterly broken down.

The Communist Party of the Third International is following in Germany what has unfortunately become its settled policy for all countries, manifest though the failure of that policy has been in Russia. That policy is to demand a workers' and peasants' government, and to couple that demand with advocacy of wage increases and other palliations of the existing system.

Rosa Luxemburg, in her critique of the Russian Revolution written in 1918, was one of the first to point out the incompatibility of the Bolshevist policy of creating a peasant proprietory with the abolition of the private property system.

A correspondent of the "Daily Telegraph," although writing in a capitalist paper, makes some shrewd observations upon the policy of the Third International in Germany:

> "It is for a 'Government of workmen and peasants.' At present the only close contact between those two classes of the population is in the Aachen district, where they are fighting one another with bludgeons and pitchforks for the possession of the potato fields. As a whole the German peasant has done even better business through war than through peace, and the workman is the last person in the world whom he intends to make a partner in the benefits he is enjoying. However, at the moment almost any cry will get a following if it is only shouted loudly and persistently enough."

This contest in the fields of Germany is an inevitable feature of the situation. The starving people are repairing to the potato fields. The peasants are fighting for their established property, privately worked for private profit, in

Preparedness.

rights as property owners, and for their means of gaining a livelihood. Let it be granted that, like the big property owners, these small owners are taking advantage of the situation to make more than ordinary profits; nevertheless if their crops are to be simply taken without payment the peasants must eventually starve under the existing system. That is self evident.

The conflict between the owner and merchant, on the one hand, and the wage-earner on the other, is the same, whether the owner and merchant own an acre or a continent.

To create a Parliamentary Government of representatives of political parties claiming to represent the Trade Unions and working class political parties, and peasants' political parties, could not solve the economic deadlock.

Germany has already had a Government of Trade Union officials and Social Democratic leaders. The result of that was a truce with Capitalism, on the lines of the truce with the employers entered into here by the British Trade Union officialdom during the war. The German Social Democratic Government made no radical change in the economic system. The accumulation of wealth and growth of poverty continued as before. When the Social Democratic Government gave place to an admittedly capitalist government, no great change was experienced.

Under a Government like that of the German Social Democratic Party, no government-made conflict with the owners, whether large or small, need be expected. Therefore there is no inconsistency in the willingness of the Social Democrats to enter a coalition with the capitalist parties.

If an actual representation of the workers on the basis of delegations from workshops on Soviet lines, were organised for the purposes of national administration, and were combined with a representation of the peasants to form a joint administration, such an administration could not solve the conflict of interest between the owner and wage-earner. The conflict will continue so long as owners and wage-earners exist and the private property system remains. The conflict will not cease whilst the people are divided into two classes: the propertied, subsisting by profit derived from their property; and the propertyless, subsisting on wages gained by their labour.

The fact that the small peasant holder works his land, instead of employing others that he need not toil, may create a bond of interest between the small peasant and the wage worker, when both are faced with the exactions of the great landowner; but greater than this bond is the division which arises from the fact that the peasant has something to sell for which he desires the highest possible price.

The peasant who lives by selling his produce will resist any governmental action limiting the prices he may charge and which hinders him from developing from a small proprietor into a large proprietor, from a poor peasant into a rich one.

The only solution is to end this basis of social organisation altogether, to discard the private property system, with its buying, selling and wage-earning, root and branch, and rebuild society on the basis of mutual service, production for use, and plenty for all.

The Third International plan which postulates State capitalism in industry, and small private land, is a plan already proved to be wholly unworkable, by the experiment in Russia, where private capitalism is steadily returning, together with the large private holding of land.

The Russian Third Internationalists claim for their policy that it is Marxist. Far be it from us to suggest, as many do, that the conclusions of anyone upon the changing processes of human society can be regarded as the final guide to future generations. Nevertheless we must assert that, in our view, the Russian Third International policy is profoundly anti-Marxist.

The Russian Third Internationalists are apt to excuse every phase of their policy on the plea that Russia is an undeveloped country. This plea was used to excuse the retention of private property and production for profit on the land. The same plea is made to serve as an excuse for the return to capitalism in industry.

Private Property.

Germany, however, is not an undeveloped country. For what reason then is the policy devised for undeveloped Russia to be imposed upon Germany?

The manifestoes now being issued by the Third International in Germany are not such as to prepare the minds of the people to make an end of capitalism and to erect a free and wageless Communism in its stead.

The Third Internationalists still harp on the theme of increased wages, though the giddy fluctuations of the mark should have taught even the most hide-bound Tory Trade Unionist that even the most successful strike to increase wages can give, at the best, scarcely a day's respite.

Here is a manifesto from the Communist organ, the "Rote Fahne," of 10th June, 1923:

THE GERMAN COMMUNIST PARTY MANIFESTO.

Factory Committees' Mass Meeting on Saturday. For a filth wage—filth work!

In all factories practice passive resistance! Down with the wage deception! Away with the bankruptors!

Away with the profiteers! At least the pre-war wages for our work!

Demand at once the payment of ten million marks for the increased cost of living for all workers, and officials!

Bread belongs to the workers! The seizure of provisions and their distribution by the Trade Unions and Co-operatives!

Up with the Workers' and Peasants' Government! Workers! Save yourselves from the

ruin! The Cuno Government cannot hurt you!

Form the United Front of all the oppressed to fight for your existence!

Prepare for the fight!

Form proletarian defence committees in all factories!

Send your Factory Committees on Saturday at 10 a.m. to "Kliems Festsale," to the Mass Meeting of the Factory Committees.

Do not allow your elected representatives to play truant! No Factory should be absent! The Mass Meeting will decide on the next united action to be taken!

The 15th Section of the Factory Committees of Great Berlin.

Germany stands at the cross-roads, her people ruined by both home and foreign capitalism; and even the larger part of her Communists do not see that the time has come to work for the complete ending of the private property system.

Monarchists and jingoes, State capitalists and individualists, all offer their solutions; but only full and free Communism can solve the social problem.

The Baldwin Note.

The notion that the Reparations proposals of the British Government can save, or materially ease the situation for Germany, and for Europe in general, is altogether visionary.

Nor must it be thought that the proposals display any generosity either to Germany, or to the Allies. In spite of the chorus of newspaper praise that has greeted them, they are of the horse leech variety, as was to be expected.

According to the proposals, a commission of experts is to decide what Germany can pay; but whatever Germany can pay the British Government insists upon getting 14.2 milliard gold marks for itself. How much of this is to come from Germany depends on what Germany can pay. The balance is to be secured from Britain's war allies, in return for the loans made to them by Britain during the war. The proposal is supposed to be generous because the sum demanded is the equivalent of the British debt to the United States, but international critics retort that British expenditure on the war will in the long run prove a profitable investment from the capitalist standpoint because Britain has secured thereby the German colonies, Mesopotamia, and Palestine.

The French moreover reply that the Commission of Experts might assess Germany's capacity to pay so low that France might find what she had to pay to Britain greater than what she would receive from Germany.

In the correspondence published by the Baldwin Government the guarantees offered by Germany as security for the reparations payments are detailed. These include the placing of a mortgage of 10 milliard gold marks on the German State railways, so that from July, 1927, 500,000,000 gold marks a year would be drawn from them by the Allied creditors in the form of interest.

On the whole of the business, industry, banking, trade, traffic, and agriculture a similar mortgage would also be placed, yielding also 500,000,000 gold marks in interest each year, which would be levied in the form of a tax.

The German Government also offered to pledge, as security for the yearly payments, the whole of the customs duties on luxuries, the excise duties on tobacco, beer, wine and sugar, and the receipts of the spirits monopoly. These revenues amounted to 800,000,000 marks before the war, and though they have greatly fallen, the German Government expects them to rise with the economic recovery of Germany.

Such proposals could only be made by a country in despair. To Communists they are wholly obnoxious. They increase the parasitic burden upon the producers and raise up before the people which accepts them, new obstacles to the discarding of the capitalist system and its obligations.

The Baldwin Government, as is shown by the correspondence now published, advised that the Allies should not express any opinion as to the adequacy of the guarantees offered by Germany. It proposed that the Allies should insist upon Germany's financial administration being placed under international control. This, of course, meant that Germany would be regarded as a bankrupt, and her affairs directed by her conquerors and creditors.

Entente Cordiale Ended.

The correspondence between the Governments now published reveals the yawning fissure which has opened in the Franco-British Entente. Paragraph 48 of the British Note of August 11th denotes the conclusion of the military alliance, and also shows to the unsophisticated the hypocrisy of that solicitude for poor little neutral Belgium, which was supposed to have brought this country into the late war.

The paragraph states that the British Government had offered to discuss sympathetically the question of future security with their Allies. Belgium is said to have welcomed the offer, but France was indifferent. The French Government replied that the question of security had "nothing to do with the Ruhr." Discussion of the security question was therefore indefinitely postponed, because the British Government was "not prepared to enter into any arrangement respecting the territorial security of Belgium, apart from a similar arrangement in regard to France."

So "Poor Little Belgium" may be invaded, but unless France is pledged to a military alliance with Britain, Britain will do nothing to protect Belgium. In other words, a mutual offensive and defensive alliance with Belgium will not be considered unless such an alliance is also concluded with France—Belgium alone is too small to be worth protecting.

Separate Action.

Paragraph 55 of the same Note is also important:

"They (the British Government) are reluctant to contemplate the possibility that separate action may be required, in order to hasten a settlement which cannot be much longer delayed, without the gravest consequences to the recovery of trade and the peace of the world."

The separate action contemplated by the Baldwin Government is said to be the setting up of an expert commission to decide Germany's power to pay, in spite of the French refusal to participate. But should France still refuse to assent to the findings of the commission and still continue to occupy the Ruhr, what will happen?

Will the British Government then take action to bring France out of the Ruhr? If so, what action? It seems that the British could only apply an economic boycott or declare war—and the first expedient could hardly fail to produce the second.

The nations are not recovered from the last war; they are all unready for another. Yet British Capitalism is unwilling to wait till France has had time to cement her hold on the coal and iron areas of the Saar and the Ruhr, which would give her an immense advantage in the next war.

The reason for the British demand that an expert commission be substituted for the Reparations Commission is bluntly stated by Lord Curzon. Since the American representative does not attend, the French and Belgian representatives, with the casting vote of the French chairman, can carry any proposal they please over the heads of the British and Italian representatives. The alliances for the next war, be it observed, are already made: chauvinist France and Belgium versus Tory Britain and Fascist Italy—a pretty rivalry!

French Proposals.

The British proposals would make Germany a bankrupt and place an international committee

The Good Samaritan Up to Date.

in control of her finances. They entail the withdrawal of France from the Ruhr.

The French proposals differ, firstly and mainly, in that France would remain in occupation of the Ruhr. The French communication of July 30th states: "We will only abandon the pledge which we hold, progressively, and in proportion as we are paid."

Secondly the French proposals differ in the manner in which the estate of bankrupt Germany is to be administered. The railways on the left bank of the Rhine and certain coal mines in the Ruhr it is proposed to hand over, not to an international commission, but to a company, in which France, Brtiain, and the Rhineland itself, would hold shares. The whole of the customs duties would be taken by the Allies and in the occupied territories actually collected by them. A certain proportion of the foreign exchange, resulting from the sales of certain important exports, would also be taken by the Allies. Such revenues would be collected by the Allies in the occupied territories.

The French proposals do not differ sufficiently from the British to make a breach between the two Governments, except that under the French plan French troops and a French majority on the Reparations Commission would enable the French to enforce their will upon all concerned. Perhaps also the proportion of shares, proposed by the French for allotment to the various nationalities in the Allied companies, formed to take over the mines and railways, is displeasing to British capitalism, which always desires the dominant place.

Should the Powers fall out over the division of the German carcase the soil of Germany will become their battlefield.

Illegality.

The British Government claims that the Ruhr occupation is illegal, or, in other words, "not a sanction authorised by the peace Treaty." The protest, however, loses all value and consistency, reason of Lord Curzon's defence of British participation in the occupation of Dusseldorf, Dursburg and Ruhrort, on the score that such action "was never claimed to be in pursuance of the Reparation Clauses of the Treaty." Says the Government Note:

> "The Allies jointly decided to threaten Germany with the occupation of further territory, just as they might have threatened her with renewal of war for her failure to perform her Treaty obligations."

After that, British protests regarding illegality are scarcely in order.

Whilst French and British capitalists manoeuvre for the advantage of their national rich men and the German Government does its best in the same direction, the poorer people of Germany are at grips with those stern realities which carry starvation in their train.

The printing presses cannot work fast enough to supply Germany with the paper money required to meet the fall of the mark. Private firms are called in to supplement the Government presses, and certain firms are actually printing their own emergency money, a striking sign of the weakness of the German State, and a measure which is bound to add to that weakness. A shortage of money, big notes that cannot be changed into smaller cash, a currency that falls in value making the wages futile, such expedients as fixing wages at the current price of so many pounds of margarine per day: all these leave masses of people starving. The artificiality of money is being demonstrated more clearly day by day. Strikers and unemployed are beginning to quit the quest for money and to look for food instead, to quit the town for the country, and to seize there, not merely the humble potato, but the standing corn and even the cattle. There is food in Germany, and the people are beginning to decide they will have it, even though there be no money wherewith to buy it.

Some day all peoples will realise that the only solution to all their troubles is to produce enough for all, for use and not for profit.

ABSOLUTELY THE LATEST.

By L. A. MOTLER.

Softly with that spanner, Henry, and curl your ears round this:

Autumn moorland and purpling heather, golden brown game birds flying against the sky, grey intangibility of mountain mist—try to imagine it all.

This is not a new kind of cure for the morning after, but all these poetic colourings represent the exact shades Henrietta and yourself are going to wear when you take that trip up to your shooting box in the neighbourhood of Airdrochie or there about.

I have got all this from an article entitled "Women,s Wear for the Moor" so I presume Henrietta is in it. Just fancy how she will look in a coat and skirt made of soft pliable leather or suede, in a dull shade of brachen brown, with a small hat of the same material in which are a bunch of long narrow feathers in bronze shades. These are really a cheap line, money returned if not satisfied.

Then look at her shoes. They are to be of crocodile or reptile skin, cut and slashed—not to ease her bunions, but to show off the bronzed silk stockings that go with them.

Shoe experts, we are told, have worked like --like Helen B. Merry—to evolve a really hard wear that combines light weight. A sort of bantam Dempsey as it were. Henrietta will really be ungrateful if she does not appreciate all this hard labour in order to show the grouse and other animals absolutly the latest in shooting costumes Who can miss a pheasant at ten yards in a costume like this? The game have only to take a look and—But that is not all. The interested reporter tells us:

"It is the outdoor clothes that count where Scotland is concerned, from a fashion point of view, but the gowns which are being taken for evening wear include some wonderful models which are likely to have considerable influence on clothes on days ahead."

Happy Henrietta. What a fine figure she and you will cut in your autumn moorland and purpling heather coats with golden brown game skirts to match, and grey intangibility shoes of mountain mist. A soft pliable sunset hat of piable leather or suede and all Bermondsey will come out and stare—and probably heave a brick or so.

How glad you will be to chuck that blue boiler suit and get into your go-to-shooting suit. How the dear Dowager will stare and cousin Evelyn screw her monocle into her eye and say: How topping, old bean. I can see Henrietta leading the fashion with her cut-away walking brogues of purple and bronze, the whole moorland will simply wilt and wane.

There will always be low people who sneer and snort at the wicked waste of all these latest fashions, but think of the work it finds for the working class. If me and you didn,t spend our money on purpling sunset suits, where would they be, I ask? Ah!

I have been trying to get Matilda to tell me what she is going to wear for the moors, but so far I have only got the classic reply:

"Yes, we have no bananas."

Continued from next column.

They were all empty.

"Great God," he exclaimed, "I am late for the Resurrection."

The moral of the story is: Don't believe in anything you don't know, for the Resurrection may never come.

PROLETARIAN SCHOOLS.

By Tom Anderson.

We of the old school of the lowly Scottish Proletariat were well instructed in our youth about the "resurrection." Many and varied were the lessons we received about it.

It was the "day of judgment," the day on which we had to appear in person and answer for the wrongs we had committed during our life. And we, being human, everyone of us had, like sheep, gone astray.

Many of us were sorely troubled about the "last day," for that was the name given to the "resurrection." We were told that the heavens would open wide, and that there would be thousands of angels dressed in pure white garments. They would all be young and beautiful lady angels. And each would have a trumpet in her hand. The angels also had wings and they could fly like swallows. When the "last day" arrived they were all to come down to our world and blow their trumpets, and at the sound of the trumpets the dead in their graves were to arise.

Our old minister used to picture to us the great gathering it would be, and we would listen and marvel at the wonderful story, and wonder now long we would be dead before the "resurrection."

He would say to us, "It is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle than for a rich man to enter the kingdom of heaven." "Put not your trust in riches," he would say, "for they are but a snare, and they may be the means of you losing your soul." We had no riches, we were all very poor, and in being so we thought we were doubly blest.

Many of us used to picture what the "resurrection" would be like. All the people who had lived in the world would be there. It would be a great gathering.

Should we form up into queues and march in military order to our celestial home? Our old minister did not know.

All he said when he was asked was "That the dead in Christ would rise first," and he, being a fervent Scottish patriot, he held firmly to the belief that no Scotsman would go to hell.

He planted that belief firmly in the minds of all us young people, and the thought still remains with me yet, though that is more than fifty years ago. Somehow I feel proud at times at being a Scotsman owing to the fact that I shall not go to hell.

Hell fifty years ago was a very real thing to the Scottish proletariat. We had it for our breakfast, dinner and supper. A text-card hung on the kitchen wall bearing the words: "And the rich man lifted up his eyes in hell."

On Sundays we went three times to church, and we had hell pictured to us in all its different forms. The brutality of that hell is beyond description.

The present generation knows nothing about the hell of the "resurrection." Should you mention either of these subjects to young people today they only laugh. So this little story about being "Late for the Resurrection" will not be enjoyed by them, but the older people who have been cradled in "hell and the resurrection" will enjoy it, and it is for them it is written.

We had in our village an "orry" man. Tom Weir was his name. An "orry" man is not a wage-slave; he is just a man, and so he was his own boss. But he had one fault: he was always late; and so he was nicknamed "Late Tom."

One afternoon Tom was nearly "fou" (drunk) and he wandered into our coffin shop. In these days the local joiner kept coffins in stock, ready-made coffins, and I was looking for one 6ft. 2in. for an order, when Tom stepped in and sat himself down. Ere I was finished Tom fell asleep, and the impulse became so strong on me to have a joke that, along with another apprentice, we put Tom into a coffin and left him sound asleep. But lo and behold! when it came to stopping-time we forgot all about Tom, and so he slept there all night.

In the grey of the morning he wakened, and, gazing round the coffin-shop, he was amazed and dumbfounded. He shaked a few of the coffins around him.

Continued at foot of preceding column.

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Our View.

The Dock Strike.

In spite of reports, by their Trade Union and by the Press, that the dock strikers of London were returning to work by the thousand, they still stand firm.

A certain Party, which boasts that it has supported the strikers from the first day of the dispute, has issued a Manifesto to the strikers, and has taken the Strike Committee to task for, as it alleges, losing sight of the real issue of the strike.

The strike, the manifesto declares, was "a strike for bread"; but certain sections, dissatisfied by the opposition they have met with from their union which they support by their contributions, have desired to form a new union of stevedores and lightermen.

The manifesto asserts that the attempt to form a new union is "playing right into Bevin's hands," and

> "if half the time that has been spent in forming the new union had been spent in bold and vigorous propaganda to extend the strike it would have been won by now . . .
>
> "All this new union talk," adds the manifesto, "if allowed to continue, will destroy your ranks and demoralise the whole of the workers on strike."

The manifesto further tells the workers:

> "You did not strike to form a new union, you struck for bread."

That is true; but when the dockers struck for bread they found that, so far from being a support to them, their union turned itself into the most potent weapon the employers could muster against them. The Party which issues the manifesto declares that the strike should have been extended to every port. Again that is true; but, as a matter of fact, the strike quickly spread to most of the principal ports, and it was the union which was one of the most powerful factors in inducing the strikers in port after port to break the solidarity of the strike and return to work.

Certainly the dockers struck for bread and not to form a new union; but when they struck the need for a new organisation was proved to them by the action of the existing union.

The only question the dockers have to decide is what form their new union shall take.

A new union, built on the old lines, may prove at first a distinct improvement on the old union: it would be difficult for newly appointed officials, fresh from the ranks, to act in quite so callous a manner towards their fellow workers as those case-hardened gentlemen, Messrs. Bevin and Gosling, have done. Nevertheless a new union built on the old lines cannot fail to go the way that all the old unions have gone. The only organisation which can be of permanent value to the dockers, as to all workers, is a Workers' Committee organisation.

If the dockers on strike had but discovered that fact the strike would have been a valuable one indeed. Many of the strikers have learnt the lesson it is true; but as yet they form the minority. The need for a new organisation is widely felt, but the reasons why the old organisation failed are not yet fully appreciated; nor has a widespread movement to end the wage system altogether yet developed amongst the strikers who have defied both the union officials and the employers.

That is all the more reason why those who are enlightened to the truth should redouble their propaganda.

An Injunction to Stop Relief of Strikers.....

Meeting at the London Chamber of Commerce the timber traders of London, whose business is at a standstill owing to the dock strike, appointed a committee to consider what action can be taken by way of injunction or other method to prevent the Boards of Guardians of Bermondsey and Poplar using the rates to relieve the strikers.

Such action is only what we must expect from the employers. Indeed it is strange that it has not been taken before. Will the Trade Union officials who have refused strike pay to the dockers now put up a serious fight for the right to relieve them from the rates? That is hardly to be expected.

Unemployment.

Increased unemployment in the coming autumn and winter is predicted by all the experts. The Labour Party and the "Industrial group" of Conservative Members of Parliament are proposing precisely the same expedients for dealing with the problem: namely State subsidies, to be applied to electrifying the railways and other large constructive works. The business world desires great State subsidies for its own ends, and finds the relief of unemployment a very convenient stalking horse behind which to move towards its goal.

De Valera Arrested.

Unsophisticated persons may perhaps marvel that Mr. De Valera, who has proclaimed a truce and called for the laying down of Republican arms, should have been arrested by the State soldiers, though Messrs. Griffith and Collins, when they made a truce with the British Government, were treated with every courtesy and respect and loaded with favours and compliments. The difference of course mainly arises from the fact that Messrs. Griffith and Collins had pledged themselves to abandon their republicanism and to accept the British plan for a Free State, whilst De Valera has declared that he has only laid down arms to work for the Republic by other means.

The arrest of the Republican leader in the midst of his election campaign was hardly a dignified proceeding for the Free State Government to adopt. The act will certainly not redound to its popularity.

Will the Imperial and Free State Governments prosecute their vengeance so far as to execute also De Valera, as well as the many others whom they have forced to pay the extreme penalty? Probably so, unless some more than common effort is made on his behalf. That the blood of the martyrs is the seed of the Church is nowhere truer than in Ireland; yet the Governments are slow to learn that lesson.

Mr. De Valera stands for a romantic and rather exotic form of nationalism, which, stupendous as have been the efforts put forth by its protagonists, must eventually make way for the rising movement for another social system.

In the pomp and circumstance which has attended the death of President Harding, let it not be forgotten that he long resisted the great and widespread appeals made to him to release the prisoners incarcerated for opposition to the United States war policy, and for failure to observe the industrial truce, into which the Trade Union jingoes had endeavoured to lead the working class. Some of the war-opinion prisoners, on whose behalf President Harding refused to exercise clemency, actually died from the hideous conditions under which they were confined. Amid the noise of official mourning, let not the sorrows be forgotten of those who grieve for the young men who died in prison through the late President's callous neglect.

INTERNATIONAL NEWS.

Syndicalism in Russia.

The Syndicalist International Working Men's Association has written to the French United General Confederation of Labour (this is the C.G.T.U., which is the split from the old C.G.T. that has affiliated to the Red International of Labour Unions) pointing out that syndicalist propaganda is persecuted by the Russian Soviet Government and asking the C.G.T.U. to use its influence for the freedom of syndicalist propaganda in Soviet Russia. The Executive of the C.G.T.U. resolved to ignore all communications of the I.W.M.A.

Transport Workers' Strike in Spain.

A great strike has developed in Spain. It began with the dismissal of two workers in the port of Barcelona. The municipal vehicle workers' and the street cleaners' union joined the strikers, the streets became an immense mud heap, factories, unable to obtain raw material, discharged their employees, and a general strike and lock-out developed. The workers kept away from the streets, anticipating the massacres by the authorities which occur on such occasions. The authorities set the police to work to disinfect the streets, but they failed to complete the work. The authorities then appealed to the syndicalists for permission to disinfect the town, and the sanitary carts were obliged to carry placards: "With the authorisation of the one big union."

Then the masters bakers informed the Barcelona Governor that, considering the lack of flour, there would be no bread for Barcelona within 48 hours. The Governor, who disposes of several motor-lorries, lacked chauffeurs. He was left with no other means than taking recourse to military lorries. When the latter arrived at the flour depots, the porters declared that they would not load any lorries unless members of the union conducted them. It was necessary then for the soldiers themselves to load the lorries. But the authorities counted without their host. When the distribution of flour was completed at all the bakeries, the bakers assistants refused to make bread with flour transported in military lorries.

In the railway stations, the railwaymen refuse categorically to touch or have anything to do with goods which are not transported in lorries carrying the authorisation of the union.

The work at the port is completely paralysed. Barges and boats, belonging to all nations, not being able to discharge their cargo at Barcelona, are turning away towards Tarragona, Alicante, Valencia, Malaga and other ports. But everywhere—the same state of affairs as in Barcelona.

Enslavement of Emigrants in France.

The minister of the liberated regions of France has sent out to all the prefects concerned a circular regarding foreign labour. The most important passage of the circular is as follows:

> "Whenever it is brought to notice that a contractor has engaged a foreign workman, knowing that the said workman was under contract of service with another concern; or even without being sufficiently assured that the said workman was free, you shall immediately take against the said contractor any measures which may appear to you opportune. Particularly if it involves a contractor with official status, you should forthwith open an inquiry against him with a view to cancelling his official status."

As one can see, the French Government acts so that it may be impossible for the emigrant to seek to liberate himself from the service of one firm and find work elsewhere with better wages. Slavery is re-born as in the good old days of traffic.

Fascism Abroad.

The I.W.M.A. news service reports a new effort of Fascism. It is an attempt to "fascise" the Italian workers who have emigrated, by the foundation of a State bank with branches and agents in all countries. The function of the bank is to advance capital to private persons and to commercial enterprises—that is to "fascist" co-operatives and unions—for the protection of what is called national work (according to the bill already approved by the Government)!

(Continued at foot of next column.)

THE BREAK-UP OF THE STATE.

By Peter Kropotkin.

If the economic condition of Europe is to be summed up in the words, industrial and commercial chaos and bankruptcy of capitalist production,—the political situation can be defined thus: rapid decomposition and approaching bankruptcy of the State.

Look where you will, you will not find a single State which is not journeying at a speedy rate towards its break-up and consequently towards revolution.

Like impotent old men, with wrinkled skin and tottering feet, consumed by the ravages of constitutional diseases, incapable of assimilating the flood of new ideas, they squander the little strength that remains to them, they live on their past and they hasten their fall still more by tearing each other to pieces like snarling old hags.

An incurable malady is gnawing at each one of them: the sickness of old age and decline. The State, that organisation which leaves the whole management of *all* the affairs of *everyone* in the hands of a few, that form of organisation has had its day. Humanity is already working out new methods of grouping.

After having reached their culminating point in the eighteenth century, the old States of Europe have entered to-day upon their downward phase; they are falling into decrepitude. The people, especially of the Latin race, are already aspiring to the demolition of this power, which only hinders their free development. They wish for the autonomy of the province, of the commune, of groups of workers held together, no longer by a power imposed from above, but by the bonds of mutual engagements, freely consented to.

That is the historic phase on which we are entering, and nothing can prevent its realisation.

If the governing classes would become sensible to the position, they would certainly hasten to anticipate these aspirations. But grown old in tradition, with no other cult but that of the fat purse, they oppose this new current of ideas with all their might. And by so doing they drive us inevitably towards a violent upheaval. The aspirations of humanity will hew themselves a path—but to the roar of the cannon, the rattle of the machine-gun, and the light of conflagrations.

When, after the fall of the institutions of the Middle Ages, the rising States made their appearance in Europe and consolidated and enlarged themselves by conquest, cunning and assassination, they meddled as yet with but a small circle of human affairs.

To-day, the State has succeeded in insinuating itself into every department of our life. From the cradle to the grave, it strangles us in its embrace. As central, provincial or municipal government, it dogs our footsteps, appears at every turn of the way, imposes itself on us, owns us, harasses us.

It legislates on all our actions. It accumulates mountains of laws and ordinances amongst which the most cunning lawyer loses himself. Every day it creates fresh machinery which it adapts clumsily to the old patched up concern till it succeeds in producnig such a complicated, hybrid, obstructive machine that it even revolts those who undertake to set it in motion.

It creates an army of employees, spiders with crooked claws, who only know the world through the grimy panes of their office windows, or through the absurd jargon of their official papers;—a black band with but one religion, that of money; but one thought, to hitch themselves on to one party or another, black, violet or white, so that they may be assured of the maximum salary for a minimum of work.

The results,—we know them only too well. Is there a single branch of State activity that does not disgust those who for their misfortune have to do with it? Is there a single department in which the State, after centuries of existence and of botching up, has not given proof of utter incapacity?

The enormous and ever-increasing sums levied from the people by the State, never suffice. The State always exists at the expense of future of future generations; it gets into debt, and everywhere advances to its ruin.

The public debts of the European States have already reached the immense, the incredible sum of 100 milliards, 100 thousand million francs! (Written 1879—82). If all the revenue of the States were to be devoted to the very last farthing to meeting these debts, it would not suffice to cover them in the next fifteen years. But far from growing less, these debts are constantly on the increase. It is in the nature of things that the needs of the State are always in excess of its means. The State perforce seeks to widen its functions; every fresh party in power is obliged to create new employment for its hangers-on; it is a fatal necessity.

And so deficits and public debts continue to grow, even in time of peace. But let a war of any kind occur and immediately the debts increase in an enormous proportion. There is no end to it; it is impossible to get out of this labyrinth.

The State is steaming full speed ahead towards ruin and bankruptcy; and the day is not far off when the people, tired of paying millions of interest yearly to the bankers, will declare the State insolvent and send the bankers to dig the soil if they are hungry.

When one says "State," one inevitably says "war." The State seeks and must seek to be powerful, more powerful than its neighbours; if not it would be a plaything in their hands. It is forced into the attempt to weaken and impoverish other States in order to impose on them its law, its policy, its commercial treaties, to enrich itself at their expense. The struggle for the upper hand which is the basis of middle-class economic organisation, is also the basis of political organisation. This is why war has become to-day the normal condition of Europe; wars succeed one another without ceasing, new wars are in preparation. There are already sufficient grounds for war to last for thirty years.

Now war means unemployment, commercial crises, growing taxation, accumulated debts. More than that. Every war is a moral setback for the State. After each war the people perceive that the State has shown its incapacity, even in its principal function; it hardly knows how to organise the defence of its territory; even when victorious, it suffers a repulse. Only think of the ferment of ideas which was born of the war of 1871, in Germany as well as in France.

Wars and armaments kill the State; they hasten its moral and economic bankruptcy. Another great war or two and they will give the finishing blow to the crazy machine.

Side by side with war abroad, we have the war at home.

Accepted by the people on the condition of being the defender of all, and above all of the weak against the strong, the State to-day has become the stronghold of the rich against the exploited, of the propertied against the propertyless.

Of what use is it, this immense machine we call the State? Is it to prevent the exploiting of the worker by the capitalist, of the peasant by the landowner? Does it guarantee us work? Does it defend us against the usurer? Or does it give us food when the woman has nothing but water to still the child that cries at her dried-up breast?

No, a thousand times no! The State stands for the protection of the exploiter, of the speculator, of private property—a product of spoliation. The proletarian, who has but his strength of arm for his whole fortune, has nothing to expect from the State; he will only find in it an organisation designed to prevent at all hazards his emancipation.

Everything for the idle owner, everything against the dispossessed worker: middle-class education which corrupts the child from his earliest years by inculcating in him anti-equalitarian prejudices; the Church which confuses the brain of the woman; the Law which prevents the exchange of ideas of solidarity and equality; money at need, to corrupt the man who comes forward as an apostle of working-class solidarity; prison and lead at discretion to shut the mouths of those who will not allow themselves to be corrupted. Such is the State.

Will this last? Can it last? Evidentlly not. A whole class of humanity, that which produces everything, cannot support for ever an organisation established specially against itself.

Everywhere—beneath the brutality of open tyranny and the hypocrisy of constitutionalism—the dissatisfied people revolt. The history of our times is the history of the struggle of the privileged rulers against the equalitarian aspirations of the people. This struggle is the principal pre-occupation of the governing class; it dictates its actions. It is not principles or considerations of public welfare which determines nowadays the passing of such and such a law or government measure; it is only consideration of the struggle against the people for the conservation of privilege.

This struggle, in itself, would suffice to shake the strongest political organisation. But when it is operative in States which are already by a historic fatality on the road to their fall; when these States are making full speed for ruin and are tearing each other in pieces into the bargain; when, finally, the omnipotent State is becoming odious even to those whom it protects, when so many causes combine towards a single issue, the result of the struggle can no longer remain doubtful. The people, who are the power, will overcome their oppressor, the fall of the State becomes a question of time and the most peaceful philosopher perceives the glimmer of the dawn of a great revolution.—"Words of a Rebel."

(Continued from preceeding page.)

Austria.

Non-governmental Socialists of Austria state that the Syndicalists of Austria have come to the conclusion that it is a Sisyphus task to bore the reformist labour organisations from within, and that the only **form** of labour organisation that harmonises with the condition of the country is that of factory councils.

"It is only the factory councils that can create the economic and pre-conditions for the proletariat to continue production and distribution. In so far as it succeeds in carrying out this function, viz., to satisfy, by its economic powers, the vital needs of mankind, of society, the factory councils make every dictatorship impossible, even in the transition to a new fully-matured anarchist-communist society."

The I.W.W. and the I.W.M.A.....

The Italian members of the I.W.W. in the States of New York, New Jersey and Connecticut, assembled in Congress at New York on April 29, 1923, discussed the question of the Internationals, examined the programmes of the I.W.M.A. of Berlin and of the R.T.U.I. of Moscow, and found the former more in conformity with the tendencies of the I.W.W.

The following resolution was then adopted unanimously:

"Resolved to do all in our power to bring about at the forthcoming General Convention the affiliation of the I.W.W. to the International Working Men's Association of Berlin, thus making the I.W.W. a part of the family of working class organisations all the world over which, like the I.W.W., aim by direct action to arrive at a state of **social** organisation in which the production and distrbution of the necessities of life are to be carried on by the labour organisations."

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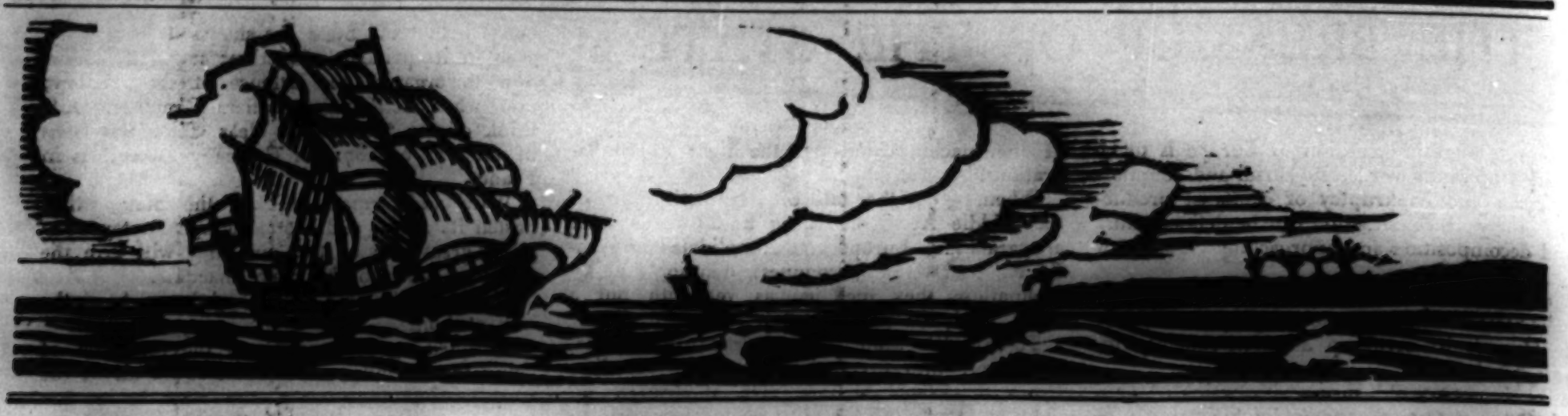

THE COMMUNIST LIFE
FOR MUTUAL SERVICE.

Hon. Secretary, A. Hodson, 36 St. Peter's Hill, Grantham.

The Llano Colony.

The Llano Colony was founded in 1914 by Job Harriman, a lawyer of Los Angeles, California. The Colony was at first situated at Llano, in California. Owing to a shortage of water for irrigation purposes, the Colony was transferred in 1917 to the State of Louisiana, in the neighbourhood of Leesville. The Colony already owns 5,000 acres of land, which is part of an estate of 20,000. It has an option to purchase this estate, and it is making efforts to buy it gradually.

The land is what is known as cut-over timber land; that is to say, it has been stripped of a great part of its timber, but it still looks nicely wooded. The colonists had before them, on arrival, the task of clearing the land to be used for agricultural purposes of stumps and trees.

On the estate bought by the Colony was a little lumber town, built only as temporary accommodation for the people employed to clear the land of its timber. Deserted by the lumber workers, it was now almost worn out. This little town contained a lumber mill, shop, hotel, about fifty cottages, and numerous barns, workshops, offices, and sheds.

Fortunately, the Kansas City Southern Railway runs through the town, and has a station near by. The State highway also passes through the town.

The land is costing the colonists 6 dollars an acre to purchase. It is very rich and fertile, and well timbered. The soil consists chiefly of sandy loam, which can be worked immediately after rain.

There is a heavy rainfall well distributed throughout the seasons, snow is almost unknown, the climate is genial and inviting, the average temperature is 67.2, the lowest in winter being 37 and the highest in summer 100 degrees.

There are extensive timber lands of pine and hard woods.

Altogether, the Colony is fortunate in its natural features.

There are 300 inhabitants, nearly a third of whom are children.

Economic Conditions.

The Colony is highly commendable for its effort to eliminate economic differences and buying and selling from amongst its members.

With the exception of food, everything is supplied to the colonists without charge. Food is charged at the rate of 30 cents a day—i.e., roughly, 10 cents a meal. Colonists may obtain their meals at the hotel, where three meals are served daily, or at the vegetarian café, where there are generous supplies of milk, fruit and vegetables, wholewheat bread, peanuts and peanut butter, and sugar-cane syrup grown on the Colony.

Those who like to take their meals at home—and they are the minority—may purchase the equivalent amount of food from the Commissary and cook it themselves.

When asked why food should be sold whilst clothing and all other things are supplied free, a representative of the Colony stated that when the food was free some people took more than they could eat and hoarded it till it went bad.

We think that such a foolish practice would soon have been outgrown.

We must admit, however, that the wage of two dollars ten cents a week, with which the food is bought, can hardly be regarded as a wage in the ordinary sense, because men and women, and even the children, who do not work, are paid this sum each week.

On reaching Llano the Colonists undertook a big task to buy the additional land, the purchase of which is still going on, and to maintain themselves till they could obtain food

Industries.

They therefore worked hard to develop industries not only to supply their own needs, but also to provide a surplus which they might sell to the outside world, in order to earn the money to pay for what they must buy in the outer Capitalist world.

The Colony's assets are now valued at 250,000 dollars. It has an apiary, 20 milking cows, a herd of thoroughbred Holstein heifers, a goat ranch with Angora goats, a hog ranch, and several hundred Derroc-Jersey hogs, a chicken farm, and dairy and butcher's shop, an auto garage, brick-making plant, blacksmith's shop, broom factory, crate-making factory, wagon-making shop, harness shop, shoe shop, steam laundry, cannery, sweet-potato storage, grist mill, peanut-butter factory, sweet factory, a theatre and picture show, a printing shop, where it produces a weekly newspaper and a magazine. It grows sugar cane, sweet potatoes, peanuts, maize, beans, peas, and fruits.

There is an eight-hour working day, which ends at 4.30 p.m.

There are classes in instrumental music and singing, there is an orchestra, there are classes in dancing, science, languages, including Esperanto, agriculture, and so on.

Housing.

The Colony has built itself several new houses. These are on the hotel principle. There is nothing to pay in rent, etc. One feature that we do not quite understand is that the Colony is willing to allow settlers to buy houses for themselves in the Colony.

Private domestic work is reduced to a minimum in the Colony, as the washing is done at the laundry, the sewing in the dressmaking shop, and most people live in the hotels.

The children work four hours a day at school, four hours a day at home. This seems to us too long; but a mitigating circumstance is that the children choose the industry they will enter.

There is a hospital, but there is a recent development in medical treatment, a class to teach the sick people how to become well. There is, of course, no charge for medical treatment; and, of course, the supply of food, and everything else, is the same, whether one is working or unable to work.

The Colony does not admit people of Asiatic or African race. This is a regrettable feature, since true Communism can admit no racial prejudice; it is excused on the ground that race hatred is acute in the Southern States of U.S.A.

Conditions of Membership.

Membership of the Colony is conditional on buying a thousand dollar shares in it; but many of the colonists came without paying anything. Mr. Ames, who represented the Colony on a visit to England, says that no willing worker is debarred admission through failure to pay the needful thousand dollars (about £200).

The purchase of membership is, of course, have been faced with the cost of buying land, machinery, and whatever they could not supply by their own exertions. Moreover, they are called on to pay federal State taxes, including that for police protection, though no policemen appear in the Colony

Management.

The Colony enters into an agreement to employ each Colonist (who is supposed to be a stockholder). The stockholders annually elect a board of directors. The board of directors appoints a manager. The manager appoints the foremen for the industries. Each foreman has a free hand in running his industry, subject to the manager and directors.

Each colonist is expected to do the work to which he or she is directed by the management, though regard is usually paid to the inclination of the workers.

The management is thus not so democratic or mutual as we should desire to see.

The Colony calls itself co-operative. There are some acknowledged Communists in the Colony who are striving to make it more Communist.

ESPERANTO.

The fifteenth annual Esperanto International Congress is taking place this year at Nuremberg. There are no less than five thousand Esperantists assembled here, and one notices this year, more than ever before, the assurance felt by everyone of understanding and being understood. There are over a hundred English here wearing the green and gold medal: one can generally recognise them by the full-mouthed way in which they pronounce the letter O, and sometimes also by their slurring the letter R; otherwise they make excellent Esperantists, and beat the Dutch, who often mix up P and B.

There are no French or Belgian comrades present. They seemed to fear a bad reception in Germany, but certainly in Esperantist circles there would be nothing but cordiality awaiting them, for although the feeling against the French is very bitter, every Esperantist knows that the French Government's action is detestable in the eyes of the comrades in those countries.

At the present moment four English shillings will buy a million marks, a newspaper costs two thousand, half a pound of cherries costs 7,500 marks, the postage on a postcard to England is 1,800 marks. All this is cheap enough for us changing our English money, but it is frightful for the Germans who cannot get wages in proportion.

My landlady here has good furniture, but she has just sold some of it to give her two children bread; and yet I saw her to-day give a slice to another child in the neighbourhood, still poorer than hers.

She has sold her towels, or nearly all, so that I can only have a small table napkin to dry myself after my bath! Yet I met a Russian at this Congress, whom I had met at last year's Congress in Helsingfors, and he says that he considers Russia to be in a still worse state! Is it possible?

Undoubtedly Esperanto, enabling us to talk to men of other countries, is a blessing; but how helpless it still leaves one in the presence of the crushing evils of the capitalist civilisation, with its concomitant militarism!

The Unknown Soldier.

UNEMPLOYED WORKERS' ORGANISATION.

Much interest is being shown amongst the unemployed of Poplar, Bow and Millwall in this organisation.

Bow Branch has been active recently at their local relief office. It has increased its membership considerably. This branch continues its meetings in Victoria Park. Bow Branch is doing what was expected of it—its best.

Millwall Branch, with the aid of a few comrades from Poplar, has held some exceptionally good outdoor meetings during the past two weeks. A very large meeting was held outside Kingsbridge Arms, Millwall, on Friday night, and the audience was attentive and interested. We are expecting some good results from this meeting. The membership of Millwall is steadily increasing.

Poplar Branch has held its usual propaganda meetings at the Guardians' offices and in the Town Hall. During the past week fifty new members have joined, which is really a remarkable achievement, when one takes into consideration and remembers that this time lats year during the hot weather the strength of the Poplar Branch, when in the N.U.W.C.M., numbered only thirty to forty members. (This is not hearsay; I was one of these members.) These figures alone speak volumes for the organisation.

Several new units have broken away from the N.U.W.C.M. South-West Ham has approached us with a view to affiliation. By this time next week we hope to have them organised in the U.W.O.

Taking into consideration the Dock Strike and the hot weather, the Unemployed Workers' Organisation has progressed with remarkable rapidity. Remember, it is up to you to build up the organisation.

I appeal to comrades, both employed and unemployed, to read our manifesto and study our aims and objects. If you are in agreement with us, start a branch in your district or town.

We will be glad at any time to assist comrades in this matter. Further information and particulars concerning the organisation may be had on application to the Area Secretary, Unemployed Workers' Organisation, Poplar Town Hall.—J. T. Bellamy, Area Organiser.

Dear Editor,

In your issue of the 4th inst. "Blanket Stiff" states that the L.D.C. have been compelled to close their offices at 36, Lamb's Conduit Street, and have moved to Queen Square again.

I should be pleased if you will correct this in your next issue, as the L.D.C. have not removed to Queen Square and to the best of my knowledge have no intentions of so doing, not even to please "Blanket Stiff."

Fraternally yours,
H. E. MARTIN,
District Secretary.

CORRESPONDENCE.

Dear Editor,

I was very much surprised on picking up a paper on the top of the bus the other day, to find a portrait of a young mother loving her first-born. How nice it looks! But it is only put in the paper to dope the workers and make them stop thinking of the things they should talk about, and say: "What a nice little chap he is!"

I am the mother of ten, but my portrait has never been in the paper with my baby. The only time the dope Press put in my portrait was when I walked from Old Ford to Hyde Park to meet the marchers coming from all parts of the country to give them a smoke.

When people says she is proud of him, I cannot say that the real loving mother is the one in the class that has children, or rather gives birth to a child by taking twilight sleep and wakes up after two hours' sleep to find a baby washed and dressed and a nurse standing by her side. I am sure she has not got the love for her child that a real mother has, who is half starved and half clothed while pregnant, and goes to work a week or only a few days before she gives birth to her child. In fact, she almost gives her last drop of blood to bring that child into the world. She very often has to sleep with four or five other children and a husband, who wonders how he is going to get milk and other good things to keep her alive.

The real mother has to sit up after the third or fourth day, to wash her other little ones. If anyone were to say to the mother: "I will look after your new born," she would think her mad. Not like the other mother, when another woman steps in and takes the child and brings it up on the bottle and sometimes has it for days and days, while the mother is away.

I challenge the other people to come to the Bow, Bromley or Poplar unemployed and see the baby who is fed on outdoor relief for the large sum of 7d. a day. Why, the so-called mother's child gets relief at something like £2 a day; some of them get more. The funny part is that they don't line up for it, they have it sent to them. So we, who have to feed, clothe and wash our children, can claim the world in the name of the real mothers of Bow, Bromley and Poplar.

Dear Editor,

If we desire peace we must organise against this brutal system. We must abolish the greed of gain and unite in serving our neighbours. When we do that, armies will no longer exist. There shall be no bloodshed, joy and happiness shall be supreme and humanity will be the flower of spring.

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